THE FOX INDIANS

FOX INDIAN WARS

Compliments of the Author

The Fox Indians during the French Regime

By Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph. D.

Editorial Assistant on the Society's Staff

[From Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1907]

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STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
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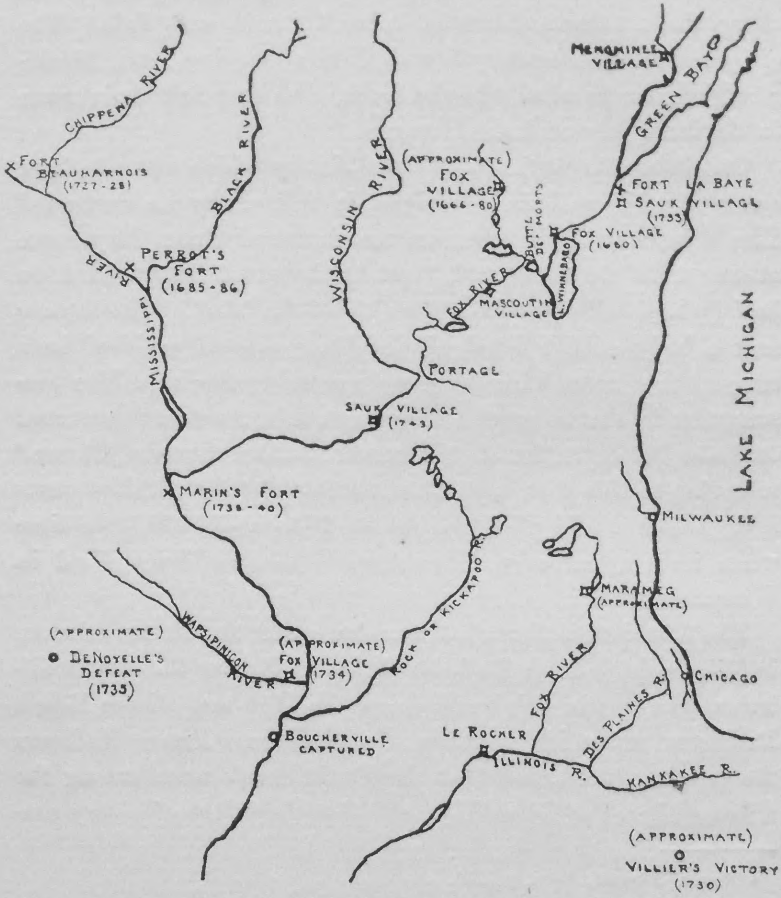
In the keystone of the great arch of colonial empire that the French sought to rear in North America, with one end at Quebec and the other at New Orleans, lay the territory now known as Wisconsin. Two of the chief routes connecting the upper waters of Canada with the Mississippi passed through this region, and it was one of the earliest interior portions of the continent to be explored. Fourteen years after English colonists first touched the coast of Massachusetts, the first French explorer, Jean Nicolet, stood upon the shores of Green Bay.

But in his first visit to Wisconsin, Nicolet encountered none of the Fox Indians. Not until twenty-five or more years had passed, did this brave and contumacious tribe make its appearance upon the river to which it gave a name and whose valley it has made historic.

The origin of the Foxes is lost in the obscurity of Indian legend and tradition. They called themselves Musquakkie (Mus-quak-kie-uck).[1] Because of their wily nature, their neighbors called them Outagami, a word translated by the French into Renards, which again the English rendered into Foxes. There seems to be some trace among them of a com-

[1] Jedidiah Morse, *Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs* (New Haven, 1822). Appendix, p. 122; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 127.

posite origin.[2] Perrot, than whom none knew the Northern aborigines more thoroughly, reports that the Outagami were composed of two divisions, one named Red Earth, the other Renards, each with its own chieftain.[4]



Seat of the Fox Wars in Wisconsin and Illinois

The original habitat of the tribe is not certain. Of Algonquian origin, closely allied in language and customs to the

[2] *Id.*, ii, p. 492; iii, p. 203.

[4] Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1703), ii, p. 174. Note also the meaning in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 127.

Sauk, Mascoutin, and Kickapoo,[5] a dim tradition of an early home in the St. Lawrence valley, near Montreal, seems to have clung to their memories.[6] Thence they appear to have drifted westward with the general Algonquian movement along the northern shores of lakes Ontario and Erie. The early seventeenth century found them occupying lower Michigan,[7] in near proximity to the Sauk, who have left their name in Saginaw Bay of Lake Huron.

One interesting episode of their history which seems to have occurred while still in Michigan, is related by La Potherie.[8] The Winnebago tribe, then on the shores of Green Bay, were at war with the Outagami, "qui habitoient à l'autre bord du lac" (who dwell upon the other side of the lake). The former sent a body of five hundred warriors, who all perished in a tempest that arose while they were crossing the lake. The presumption is, that so great a disaster as this, must have occurred on Lake Michigan itself. Moreover, Father Claude Allouez,[9] referring to this war, says that it occurred "about thirty years ago," which would place it between 1636 and 1639, at a time when it is apparently demonstrated that no Foxes lived in Wisconsin.[10]

The first definite knowledge we have that the Outagami were in Wisconsin is from the information of Father Gabriel Druillettes, who on his visit to Mackinac in 1656 met Pierre Esprit Radisson, with his confrère Grosseilliers. From Radisson the missionary learned that the Outitchkouk were among the tribes gathered at Green Bay, and that they were of a very gen-

[5] Morse, *Report*, App., p. 122.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 123; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 137; Draper MSS. 28J34.

[8] La Potherie, *Hist.*, ii, p. 72.

[9] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1896–1902), li, p. 77.

[10] C. W. Butterfield, *History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet* (Cincinnati, 1881), p. 64.

tle disposition.[11] Father Allouez, who met them on Lake Superior in 1665, gives a more unfavorable account of their temperament, saying they are "less docile than the Potawatomi."[12]

It was during this decade (1655–65) that the tribe was just finding its way into Wisconsin, and searching for a new site upon which to fix their village home. Driven with the other Algonquian people before the fleeing Huron, who on their part were pursued by the fierce blast of Iroquois wrath, the Foxes with their kin, the Sauk, Mascoutin, and Kickapoo, abandoned their Michigan habitat, and sought refuge upon the lakes and waterways of Wisconsin. It seems probable, since they did not at this period use lake-going canoes, that they came around the southern end of Lake Michigan, pushing back the Illinois confederacy, that had previously ranged from the Ohio to Lake Superior.[13] Once upon Wisconsin soil they found the Winnebago who had already battled with them, but who now allowed them to settle and marry among them.[14] Farther east were the Potawatomi, whose language they could understand, who had come from Mackinac via the islands of Green Bay. To the west the Mascoutin, Kickapoo, and Miami, had built a great town upon a prairie near the upper Fox.[15]

[11] *Jes. Rel.*, xliv, p. 247. Radisson makes no mention of this tribe in his journal, but gives it in his general enumeration; G. D. Scull, *Radisson's Voyages* (Boston, 1885), p. 246.

[12] *Jes. Rel.*, li, p. 43.

[13] Gen. William Clark, for many years superintendent of Western Indian affairs, related that he believed the Foxes and Sauk dispossessed the Illinois of the country west of Lake Michigan, and that some desperate battles were fought a little below Chicago on the shore of the lake. See Draper MSS., 28J34.

With regard to the use of canoes by the Foxes, it is repeatedly stated by the early teachers and missionaries that they did not know their use — *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 56, 70, 257, 374; *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 160. Later, however, they appear to have learned to employ them from their Winnebago and Potawatomi neighbors; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 311; xvii, p. 33.

[14] *Jes. Rel.*, li, p. 77.

[15] For this site see Wisconsin Historical Society *Proceedings*, liv,

Some time during the winter of 1665–66,[16] the Foxes, seeking safety from the murderous Iroquois, and a fertile land to sow their corn, built for themselves a village on the waters of Wolf River, somewhere probably in the present county of Waupaca, Wisconsin.[17] Here they were first visited in the summer of 1666 by that astute trader and explorer, Nicolas Perrot. Well would it have been for the French empire in America had all their traders and negotiants exercised the diplomacy of Perrot in dealing with the haughty Foxes. Years afterwards he reminded them that he was "their father since he had been the first Frenchman to open the door of their cabin."[18] The Foxes complained in 1701, at the great council at Montreal, that now they have no more spirit since Perrot has left them.

Perrot, responding to the invitation of their chiefs to visit them, gives a somewhat disagreeable picture of this great village, which comprised six hundred cabins.[19] "They found a

pp. 167–182. Butterfield (*op. cit.*, note 10, *ante*) assumed that this village existed here at the time of Nicolet's visit. I find no proof thereof, but think these people doubtless came with the great migration of 1650–65.

[16] This date is fixed by Perrot, who first came to Wisconsin in the spring of 1666 (*Jes. Rel.*, lv, p. 320), and says that the Outagami village was a new establishment built the preceding winter; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 39.

[17] Allouez gives the name of this village as Ouestatimong (*Jes. Rel.*, liv, p. 12). Its exact location has not been determined; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 39, note.

[18] La Potherie, *Hist.*, ii, p. 173.

[19] This would be a very large population for an Indian town, but no larger than that reported for the kindred Mascoutin village, which is represented as having at one time 20,000 souls. Allowing ten persons to a cabin, a low estimate, the total population would have reached 6,000. Allouez mentions six cabins as having contained one hundred women and children while the men were away hunting, an average of about eighteen to a cabin. On this estimate, the Wolf River village would have a population of about 10,000. Allouez says the tribe is renowned for being populous, and has more than 400 warriors. He says later there were but 200 cabins; but with five, six, or ten families to each, the population would approach that indicated by

large village, but destitute of everything. These people had only five or six hatchets, which had no edge, and they used these, by turns, for cutting their wood; they had hardly one knife or one bodkin to a cabin, and cut their meat with the stones which they used for arrows." These are, then, aboriginal tribesmen, relying upon their own resources of stone knives and flint instruments, unaccustomed to the goods of the French trader, and using only the arts of primitive life. Their destitution, however, was probably only relative. Allouez mentions the excellence of the soil, and the advanced state of agriculture among them. Their cabins were well-made, and covered with thick bark, and they knew the art of fortifying their village.

Perrot's visit was their first contact with the white man. They had heard of these marvelous visitors who brought iron knives and hatchets, guns to slay enemies, kettles to cook food, and beautiful glass beads for the adornment of their persons. They had even secured a few of their products through the Potawatomi, who had been down to Montreal, and brought back materials for trade. Now one of these wonderful strangers had appeared in their midst. They followed his footsteps at every turn, importuning him for gifts "for those Savages imagined that whatever their visitors possessed ought to be given to them gratis; everything aroused their desires, and yet they had few Beavers to sell." The practical Perrot left some Sauk to do his trading for him, and returned to Green Bay.

Other French traders with whom the Outagami came early in contact impressed them less favorably than Perrot. When a hundred and twenty of the tribe visited Chequamegon during the winter of 1666–67, Allouez reported that they and the Sauk would kill a Frenchman if they found him alone, because they disliked beards.[20]

Perrot. It is doubtful, however, whether their numbers ever exceeded 5,000 all told.

[20] *Jes. Rel.*, li, p. 44.

When the good Jesuit father first came to Green Bay, it was at the urgent request of the Potawatomi, "to curb some young Frenchmen, who being among them for the purpose of trading, were threatening and maltreating them."[21] Allouez found similar conditions in the Fox village. Instead of the exalted idea they had first received of the Frenchman as a god—a manitou sent by the Great Spirit, the shocking conduct of two French traders had given them a low opinion of the whole nation, an idea the Jesuit labored hard to remove.[22] When Allouez prepared to return to them the following autumn, he learned that some of the Foxes had that summer made the then momentous voyage to Montreal, and that there they had been maltreated by French soldiers, and were so bent upon revenge that not a trader dared venture into their vicinity. Even Allouez, in going among them, took his life in his hand.[23]

The specimens of humanity found on the frontier of white advance into barbarian territory are either the best or the worst of their race. With the exception of Perrot, the Foxes had found the French traders unjust, deceitful, arrogant, and brutal. Nor did the devoted services of the "black-gown" missionaries make much impression on these men of the forests.

The devoted Allouez spent three days in their village (April 24–27, 1670), and there founded the mission of St. Marc. Had the French traders who had been among them behaved better, "I would have had less trouble," he succinctly remarks. In his autumn visit of the same year he received a very frigid welcome for causes before noted.[24] In February of the following year, the faithful missionary again sought his Fox neophytes. Going overland, in the depths of a Wisconsin winter, he was frost-bitten, and suffered much physical hard-

[21] *Id.*, liv, p. 197.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[23] *Id.*, lv, p. 185.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

ship. All this he counted as nothing compared to his bitterness of spirit when he was received with mockery and ribald jests, by these souls for whose salvation he yearned. Gradually their spirit, touched by his patience and fidelity, softened.

In 1672 he erected a cross in the village, and a party of young warriors going against the Sioux inscribed the sacred symbol on their shields, and returned victorious.[25] But the following year, this new species of exorcism had proved a failure. The Sioux had killed or taken prisoners thirty Fox soldiers of the cross, and the good father found them "badly disposed towards Christianity."[26] Nor did the mission of St. Marc ever become flourishing; for eight years (1670–78) the black-robed apostles made them frequent visits but never more than an occasional baptism of an ailing infant or a dying old man rewarded their efforts. Upon the mass of the tribe Christianity made no impression. They remained wedded to their primitive vices and their ancient superstitions, and were "self-willed beyond anything that can be imagined."[27]

The first years' residence of the Foxes in Wisconsin were thus the momentous ones of their first contact with the French, when the seeds of distrust were sown, which were to blossom later into a harvest of hatred and war. It is not contended that the treatment of the Foxes was worse than that accorded by the French to the other Algonquian tribes around Green Bay; but the former were a stronger race, of a more consistent self-regard, less easily subdued by a show of force, self-reliant, and revengeful, cherishing their vengeance long, and venting it when the moment seemed opportune. This appears from the earliest reports, wherein they are noted as "less docile than the Potawatomi," and "a proud and arrogant people," held in low estimation by their neighbors[28]—no doubt be-

[25] *Id.*, lvi, p. 143.

[26] *Id.*, lviii, p. 47.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[28] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 153.

cause of their superior qualities—and as displaying "more steadfast courage than did the other allies."[29]

Their remote situation, also, hidden behind the lakes and swamps beyond the Fox–Wisconsin trade route, distant from Green Bay and removed from constant intercourse with traders, preserved their native spirit and promoted their independence. In their village on Wolf River they lived as had their forefathers, devoting their energies to war and hunting, with flourishing families growing up around them, their industrious women cultivating the fields of corn and squash, dressing their skins, weaving their mats, and satisfied with native manufactures. One kind of implement, however, they learned to use and never failed to secure from the traders—the implements of war. Hunting still with bows and arrows, they reserved their new and deadly weapons for raids upon Sioux, Chippewa, or Iroquois, and every Fox warrior possessed his gun and a well-stocked powder-horn. Thus strong in primitive virtues, and secure in their independence, the Foxes dwelt remote until the changing conditions in the Upper Country drew them from their fastnesses and gave them a prominent part in the drama of Western history.

The era of pristine discovery was over, Nicolet and Radisson, Marquette and Jolliet, La Salle and Hennepin, Duluth and Perrot, had threaded the streams that unite the Great Lakes with the Mississippi, and explored the latter to the Gulf. The age of exploitation had begun. To the remoter tribes the coureurs des bois had penetrated. It remained to organize the trade, to colonize the strategic points, to secure the savages' allegiance. That master-merchant, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, supported by favor at Versailles and Quebec, secured a monopoly of the Illinois country, built his fort on the river of that name, planned an establishment at the mouth of the Wisconsin, and sought a new adjustment of tribal geography. The Illinois were clustered around his central fortification, the

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Miami were tempted southward, and settled in two great divisions, one on the St. Josephs River, Michigan, and one in northeastern Illinois, near a place called Marameg.[30] With them, went the allied tribes of the Mascoutin and Kickapoo, the latter giving its name to Rock River, on whose upper branches it settled. On their part, the Foxes, abandoning their village site upon the upper Wolf, removed to the river which now bears their name.

This river had until then without exception been called "Rivière des Puants," from the Winnebago tribe inhabiting its banks, and from the name of the bay into which it discharges. The earliest mention of the river by its new name, is on Hennepin's map in his edition of *La Louisiane,* where he uses the term "R. et L. Outagamis." Perrot, in his minutes of taking possession of the country of the upper Mississippi (1689), annexes the "Baye des Puants, the lake and rivers of the Outagamis and Maskoutins."[31] Lahontan, who journeyed by the Fox-Wisconsin waterway in 1688, speaks of two villages of the Outagami on the upper Fox.[32] La Salle, who calls the river Kakaling, locates the Fox village near Lake Petit Butte des Morts, where it is likewise found on Franquelin's map of 1684.[33] Allouez's last mention of the mission

[30] This place has usually been identified with the Marameg River in Michigan. Franquelin's map of 1684 places it upon the upper Fox River of Illinois. Perrot was stationed there in 1692, and later a Fox village was built in this neighborhood, and left its name to the river; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 129, 173; J. F. Steward, *Lost Maramech and Earliest Chicago* (Chicago, 1903). On Franquelin's map the Miami are scattered through the northern Illinois region. He places one village of 1300 population upon a branch of the Kankakee; the Piankeshaw, Ouiatanon, and other Miami tribes are located on branches of the Illinois. Later (1692) the tribe seems to have been collected at Marameg, Chicago, and St. Joseph — this before the migration towards Detroit.

[31] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 35.

[32] Thwaites, *Lahontan's Voyages* (New York, 1903), i, p. 175.

[33] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 106.

of St. Marc, on Wolf River, is in 1678. La Salle's letter locating the Fox village, is dated 1682, therefore their migration must have occurred between these two dates, probably about 1680.

The Foxes were thus brought prominently into the arena of action during a troubled period for the colony of New France. For twenty years the war with the Iroquois raged. In the West, confusion reigned. The attempt of La Salle to concentrate the tribes at his Illinois establishment had been but partially successful, and during his ill-fated Louisiana expedition and after his death, Tonty commanded at Fort St. Louis. He built a secondary establishment at Chicago, and shipped peltry through Lake Michigan and Mackinac.[34] Duluth founded (1686) a post on the Detroit River, which was abandoned two years later by the profligate Baron Lahontan.[35]

At Green Bay matters were in great disorder. The Indians were mutinous and insolent; even the docile Potawatomi, thoroughly wedded to French interest, in which they saw their own as middlemen for intertribal trade, required to be humbled.[36] The Menominee murdered some of the Jesuits' servants,[37] and pillage and rapine spread abroad.

The one man capable of coping with these fierce spirits was Daniel Graysolon Duluth. In Lake Superior he even ventured to put to death a powerful Chippewa chief for the murder of some Frenchmen.[38] To Green Bay he sent his ablest lieutenant, in the person of Nicolas Perrot. In 1682 a Sauteur–Outagami war had broken out, in the course of which captives had been taken, among whom was the daughter of a powerful Ottawa chief at Mackinac. The affair threatened to embroil all the Wisconsin tribes; vain attempts had been made

[34] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, xxxiii, p. 75.

[35] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 125; *Lahontan's Voyages*, i, p. 163.

[36] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 110, 111.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 99–102.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 114–125.

to secure this captive maiden. The Foxes, haughty in their success, refused to listen to any envoys, and threatened with death all who approached their village. Duluth persuaded Perrot to put his head within this lion's jaws. With a bravado which charmed the savage spirit, Perrot suddenly appeared in their midst, and baring his chest exclaimed: "Listen, Outagamis, to what I am going to say. I have learned that you are very anxious to eat the flesh of the French; I have come with these young men whom you see, in order to satisfy you. Put us into your kettles, and satiate yourselves with the flesh you have wanted." Then with a dramatic gesture of his sword, he continued, "My flesh is white and savory, but it is quite salt; if you eat it, I do not think that you can swallow it without vomiting." Having by much diplomacy secured the Ottawa maiden, he hastened to Green Bay, where the chiefs were astonished at his success. His empire over their spirits increased, he secured satisfaction for the murdered Jesuit servants, and reached Mackinac in time to arrest an Ottawa war-party just setting forth.[39]

Perrot was next commissioned (1684) to take a reinforcement of Western tribes to La Barre's aid in the latter's foray into Iroquois territory. A few Outagami accompanied this war-party, whose failure alienated the Western tribesmen.[40]

In consequence of this abortive expedition, the Outagami, when enlisted for Denonville's enterprise three years later, were easily turned back by a party of Loup (Mahican) Indians, whom they met on their way to Detroit.[41] Returning to Green Bay, during Perrot's absence on this expedition, their mischievous tendencies soon appeared. At the point of the sword they forced the Jesuits' blacksmith to sharpen their

[39] La Potherie relates this episode twice—*Hist.* ii, pp. 148–157, 167–177. The former account is translated in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 99–103. I have combined the two narratives, each having its dramatic features, and setting forth the astuteness of Perrot.

[40] *Lahontan's Voyages*, i, p. 73.

[41] La Potherie, *Hist.*, ii, pp. 193–199.

knives and axes,[42] which they proceeded to employ in a raid upon the Chippewa. At this time the church and mission house were burned, and the inference is that the fire, by which Perrot lost a large amount of peltry, was of incendiary origin. Upon his return Perrot once more subdued the Renards to his will, but secured no satisfaction for his vanished furs. Indeed, he but narrowly escaped personal violence at the hands of the Foxes.[43]

During all the years of Frontenac's second administration (1689–98), the Renards were in secret or open rebellion. After the Lachine massacre (1689), in common with the other Western tribesmen,[44] they openly sent envoys to the Iroquois;[45] afterwards the Foxes planned to migrate with the Mascoutin and Kickapoo to the Wabash, and there ally themselves with this great confederacy.[46] Thwarted in that scheme by the exertions of Louis de la Porte, Sieur de Louvigny, whom Frontenac sent to command at Mackinac,[47] they once more turned their arms against the Sioux.[48]

The Fox-Wisconsin waterway now became unsafe for French traders,[49] and in 1693 Pierre Charles le Sueur was sent to keep open the route to the Mississippi via Lake Superior and the rivers Bois Brulé and St. Croix.[50] Perrot by his personal as-

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 209; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 143.

[43] This episode, like that of the rescue of the prisoner, is twice related by La Potherie — *Hist.*, ii, pp. 211–214, 244–256. The latter is translated in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 143–151.

[44] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 134; *Jes. Rel.*, lxiv, pp. 23–39.

[45] *Wis Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 141.

[46] La Potherie, *Hist.*, ii, p. 314.

[47] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 108–110.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 303; *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, p. 90.

[49] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 149.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 173. In a memorial regarding Le Sueur, written in 1702, he is stated to have carried on trade in the West "for the last 14 years, at first under pretence of stopping the war between the Foxes and other nations — a mission repeated several times that has had no other result than to bring him many beavers." — *Canadian Archives*, 1905, i, p. 524.

cendency maintained a hold upon the haughty Foxes, who rescued him from the resentment of the Miami,[51] and sent in 1697 chiefs with him to visit the great Onontio. Frontenac, unable to punish their insolence, threatened them with a punitive expedition if they did not keep the peace.[52]

The following year the great governor died, but in one respect his works lived after him. He had finally cowed the fierce Iroquois, and in 1700 they sought the new governor, Louis Hector de Callières, in the interests of peace. After prolonged negotiations they promised to restore the prisoners taken from the Indian allies of the French, provided that on their part the allies would return the Iroquois held as slaves. Messengers were sent to all the far nations, who came in 1701 to Montreal bringing their Iroquois prisoners. The Outagami chief had protested, however, that he had no prisoners to return.[53] Parkman, following the account of La Potherie, who was an eyewitness of this great council, has given us a graphic picture of its setting, and several incidents.[54] It was an Outagami who created much merriment by the dignified way in which he advanced, crowned with an old French peruke, which he treated as a hat. His speech, however, was eloquent and significant. Parkman omits his final words, "I now regard the Iroquois as my brother; but I am yet at war with the Sioux." To this declaration is annexed the pithy comment, "They did not wish to touch upon this last remark," which was allowed to pass unnoticed.

Was it strange that the Outagami conceived themselves authorized by the authority of the governor himself, to plunder traders carying munitions of war to the tribesmen whose enmity they had so openly proclaimed?

[51] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 166; Tailhan, *Perrot's Memoire* (Leipzig and Paris, 1864), p. 331; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, pp. 173, 174.

[52] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 172.

[53] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 724.

[54] Francis Parkman, *Frontenac and New France* (Boston, 1877), pp. 447–451; La Potherie, *Hist.*, ii, pp. 240–266.

For the moment all seemed auspicious in the Canadian colony. The tree of peace, in the figurative language of the eloquent tribesmen, had been planted on a mountain high enough for all the world to see. The Upper Country was pacified, all sat quiet upon their mats, and smoked the calumet. But it was an unstable equilibrium, based upon the alliance of tribes scattered over two thousand miles of wilderness, resembling a "vast menagerie of wild animals, where the lynx bristled at the wolf, and the panther grinned fury at the bear, in spite of all efforts to form them into a happy family under paternal rule."[55]

Frontenac, the great war-governor, being dead, a new party had come into control of New France. In contrast to the expansionist policy of Frontenac and his able lieutenants, La Salle, Tonty, Duluth, Perrot, and La Mothe-Cadillac, this may in modern parlance be called the "anti-imperialistic" party. Their policy was to leave the tribesmen to themselves, to ignore their quarrels, to withdraw the officers from the posts, and to force the fur-trade into its former channels, when fleets of savages came each year to Montreal to traffic for their peltry. Yielding to their solicitations, the court at Versailles gave orders in conformity thereto, and from all the Upper Country traders were summoned, congés revoked, and officers ordered home. Mackinac, St. Joseph, and Marameg were abandoned, and all forces of control, save the Jesuit priests, withdrawn.[56]

The Illinois post was exempted from this order. The founding of Louisiana opened a new route into the upper Mississippi region and partially nullified the prohibition to carry goods. Eighty-four coureurs des bois, refusing to return to Canada, escaped to the Mississippi country, and there laid the foundation of the Illinois settlement.[57] Juchereau de St. Denis was permitted to begin a post at the mouth of the Ohio, and Pierre Charles le Sueur ascended the Mississippi as far as the St.

[55] Parkman, *Frontenac*, p. 403.

[56] Tailhan, *Perrot's Memoire*, p. 332.

[57] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 721.

Peter's, and built a fort within the present limits of Minnesota.[58]

Left to themselves the Foxes carried on the Sioux war with vigor, and closed the Fox-Wisconsin waterway to all travellers. In 1699 Father St. Cosme found it necessary to go to the Illinois via the Chicago portage, because "the Foxes who are on this little river that you ascend on leaving the Bay to reach the Weskonsin will not suffer any person to pass for fear they will go to places at war with them, and hence have already plundered several Frenchmen who wished to go by that road."[59]

In 1702 a Montreal merchant who had been allowed to go and reinforce Le Sueur at Fort l'Huillier was plundered by the Foxes of goods to the value of 25,000 to 30,000 livres. Juchereau de St. Denis bribed the brigands of Fox River with a thousand crowns' worth of goods to let his canoes proceed.[60] Not long after this a force of Foxes and Mascoutin appeared in the Sioux country, killed three members of the garrison of the fort, and compelled the rest to evacuate the place.[61] No wonder that Cadillac complained of the fruits of the policy of non interference, that Frenchmen were "exposed to the humiliations and insults which they have so often endured without being able to help it, such as being plundered and cruelly beaten, which has disgraced the name of France among these tribes."[62]

Urging these considerations, and the danger that the Upper Country, left to itself, would place its fur-trade in the hands of the Iroquois and English, an order was obtained (1699) from the French court to found a colony at Detroit under the fostering care of Antoine la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac.

Of Gascon birth, La Mothe came to New France about 1683, and after some years' service as hydrographer, received a large

[58] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 177–200.

[59] John Gilmary Shea, *Early Voyages on the Mississippi* (Albany, 1861), p. 49.

[60] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, p. 175.

[61] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 200.

[62] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, p. 144.

grant of land on the coast of Maine, including the island of Mount Desert. In 1687 he was married at Quebec, and his home was burned at Port Royal during the English invasion of 1690. At first a lieutenant, then a captain, in the colonial troops, he succeeded Louvigny as commandant at Michilimackinac, and during his command (1694–97) made a study of the Western situation. His plan, like those of La Salle and Perrot, included the removal of the Indian tribes to the neighborhood of the post, and their instruction in the French language and in some measure of civilization. His invitations to settle near Detroit were first accepted by the Huron and Ottawa, whom he had known while commandant at Mackinac. A considerable village of Loups (Mahican), who had long been allies of the Iroquois, settled north of the fort, but removed after the trouble of 1706.[63] The Miami had before the founding of Detroit concentrated at St. Joseph by the express command of Frontenac. The Jesuit missionaries at this station opposed their removal to Detroit, but in 1707 they were induced to place their villages on the river Maumee.[64] In 1703 a village of Chippewa and Mississagua settled near Fort Pontchartrain. The Potawatomi, always arch-traders and submissive to French influence, took the Miamis' place at St. Joseph, and sometime between 1706 and 1712 formed a village at Detroit.[65] In 1704 there were two thousand Indians at this site; but after the troubles of 1706, when, during Cadillac's absence, his inefficient lieutenant Bourgmont was drawn into a quarrel between Miami and Ottawa, and lost two soldiers and a missionary, there were but twelve hundred.[66]

The Foxes, frequently solicited by La Mothe's agents to remove their village within range of the protection of his fort, for a long time refused. Nearly all their neighbors had, however,

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 163, 270.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 338.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 385, 552.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 205, 340.

left their vicinity, traders came but rarely among them,[67] and their isolation became distasteful to a large party of the tribe. Even the Jesuits had abandoned the Green Bay region, following their Sauk and Potawatomi neophytes to St. Josephs River.[68]

Finally, in 1710, moved by some impulse not at this distance of time fully clear to us, a large party of Outagami decided for migration, and gathered their effects for the long overland journey. Lodge poles and provisions were packed on the backs of their faithful squaws, and with numerous troops of children and dogs the long journey began. Somewhere on the march a band of Mascoutin was encountered, who joined forces with them, and proceeded onward, a disorderly but peaceful rabble of more than a thousand souls.[69]

Cadillac, however, was no longer at his village on the strait. Summoned to the governorship of Louisiana, his place at Detroit had been taken by Charles Regnault, Sieur Dubuisson, who did not sympathize with Cadillac's policy of concentration, and was annoyed by this large, uncouth, plundering body of strange Indians, that had made its way to his vicinity.

In 1711 the new governor, Marquis de Vaudreuil, sent for a number of Fox chiefs to visit him at Montreal.[70] The officer who was deputed with the summons found the Renards already embroiled with their neighbors at Detroit,[71] and rescued from their hands a condemned prisoner.[72] The governor upbraided

[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 449, 459. An illegal trader named Boisseau did a thriving business at Green Bay in 1707.

[68] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, pp. 501, 532.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 500, 505; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 293. It was claimed that the Foxes were on their way to the Iroquois; but if such were their purpose they would have avoided Detroit, rather than have foraged in its vicinity for two years.

[70] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, pp. 497–500.

[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 504, 505.

[72] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 273.

the visiting chiefs,[73] and advised them to return to their former village in Wisconsin.[74]

Well would it have been for the Foxes had they heeded the warning of the great Onontio; well would it have been for the fortunes of New France, had Vaudreuil succeeded in reversing the policy of Cadillac, and persuaded this unruly tribe to retire once more to their Wisconsin fastnesses. It required more than human wisdom to keep the "happy family" clustered around Detroit from flying at each other's throats.[75]

The instigator of the difficulty of 1712 was the great Ottawa war-chief, Saguina.[76] During the winter of 1711–12, he planned an attack upon a Mascoutin village wintering upon the St. Joseph River, and killed or captured fifty of this tribe. The news flew to Detroit, and set the great Fox village there on fire. Three Ottawa squaws were immediately secured, one the wife of Saguina himself.

The French commandant, in mistaken zeal, made common cause with one party against the other. The Outagami had made themselves obnoxious by their haughty bearing.[77] Dubuisson, therefore, received the Ottawa and Huron into his fort, and by exciting speeches urged them against the common enemy. The allied tribes, thus stimulated, attacked the stockade in which the Foxes had entrenched themselves. The siege abounded with thrilling incidents, bold harangues, hurtling defiances, and despairing attempts at peace. We

[73] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, p. 505.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 506.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

[76] The evidence presented, founded largely on documents published since the writing of his book, is sufficient to overthrow S. S. Hebberd's argument in his *History of Wisconsin under French Dominion* (Madison, 1890), pp. 81–84, that the French lured the Foxes to Detroit in order to destroy them. They came, certainly, on the invitation of French officers, but they were warned to go back, and had long been obnoxious to a large portion of the Western tribesmen. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, 863, on Saguina's participation.

[77] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, p. 505.

possess several contemporary narratives: the official report of Dubuisson;[78] that of Vaudreuil to the minister in France;[79] an account attributed to the celebrated engineer, Chaussegros de Léry;[80] and letters of Father Marest, missionary at Mackinac.[81]

Had we only the report of some Outagami chronicler, what marvels of obstinate defense, of mighty despair, of heroic deaths, might we not record! Even in the chronicles of their enemies, the Foxes appear as heroic figures. Listen to the speech of their great chief when the French and their allies first fired upon the Fox fort: "What does this mean, my Father? Thou didst invite us to come to dwell near thee; thy word is even now fresh in our pouches. And yet thou declarest war against us. What cause have we given for it? My Father, thou seemest no longer to remember that there are no nations among those whom thou callest thy children who have not yet wet their hands with the blood of Frenchmen. I am the only one whom thou canst not reproach; and yet thou art joining our enemies to eat us. But know that the Renard is immortal; and that if in defending myself I shed the blood of Frenchmen, my Father cannot reproach me."[82]

[78] This was first published in pamphlet form at Detroit in 1845 and was incorporated by William R. Smith in his *History of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1854), iii, pp. 315–336, and republished in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 267–287. C. M. Burton of Detroit had a copy made from the original in the Paris archives, and translated for *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, pp. 537–552. Charlevoix's account in his *History of New France* (Shea trans., N. Y., 1872), v, pp. 257–262, is taken almost verbatim from this report; and Parkman's chapter in *A Half Century of Conflict* (Boston, 1892), i, pp. 267–287, is largely founded on this document. Dubuisson wrote well, with an eye to dramatic effect.

[79] Three different letters making allusions to this, Sept. 15, Oct. 12, and Nov. 6, published respectively in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, pp. 259–567, 569–571, and *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 862–865.

[80] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 293–295.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 288–292; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, pp. 553–559.

[82] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 293.

With enemies four times their own number, from tribes as far distant as the Osage and Missouri, aided by the French garrison with their cannon, the Renards maintained an obstinate defense of their fortress for nineteen days, and then were driven out only by the lack of water and the infection of the dead. Their own relatives the Sauk deserted to the enemy, and brought news of their straits. Yet with all this the besiegers were on the point of abandoning the siege, and the French in alarm wished to slip away to Mackinac. Dubuisson spent four sleepless days and nights, reanimating the spirit of his dusky warriors, and with hundreds of these savage foes upon the watch, the wily Foxes escaped in a body from their fort "on an obscure night with rain." Expecting immediate pursuit, a few miles above Detroit they prepared an ambuscade,[83] into which twenty of their enemies fell. Here they again resisted four days, while the French brought up their cannon, and a hundred canoes bore provisions to the French allies. At last came an end of this superb resistance. They "surrendered at discretion to our people, who gave them no quarter. All were killed except the women and children whose lives were spared, and one hundred men, who had been tied, but escaped."

Thus laconically Dubuisson relates the result. The allies' "amusement was to shoot four or five of them every day. The Hurons did not spare a single one of theirs." Such were the amenities of savage warfare, to which the civilized subjects of Louis XIV gave their aid. A grand mass was chanted in thanks to God, and the commandant piously adds, "It is God who has suffered these two audacious nations to perish."

But great as was their loss, the Foxes and Mascoutin were far from having perished. In the woods of Wisconsin still dwelt the major portion of their tribes, and the enmity now flamed into active hatred, and a blind fury of revenge. The

[83] At the mouth of a small creek now called the Fox, two miles above Detroit.—C. M. Burton.

French had scattered a thousand fire-brands through all the western uplands. The Foxes with their allies were everywhere. Every solitary Frenchman took his life in his hands when he stepped into his canoe to thread the forest waterways in search of native customers. The Huron at Detroit were murdered if they stepped beyond the palisades of their fort. According to the governor's report of 1714, all the savage nations were "dying of hunger in their cabins, not daring to leave them to go hunting on account of their well grounded fear that the Reynards will destroy them all, one after the other. The merchants will have a gloomy confirmation of this, this year, on seeing how little peltry has come down to Michilimackinac."[84]

Roused by this danger to the prosperity of the colony, the governor in 1714 sent Marchand de Lignery to incite the neighboring savages against the enemy.[85] The Foxes had already made alliance with the Sioux,[86] and sent an embassy to the Iroquois, who "never appeared so haughty as they are at present."[87] An expedition to rendezvous in two divisions was planned for 1715. The southern, under charge of Lieutenant de Mannior, son of Claude de Ramezay, and Ensign d'Adoncourt of the house of Longueuil, was to gather at Chicago and proceed by the last of August to Green Bay, there to meet the forces from the north. Meanwhile Réné Boucher, Sieur de la Perrière, was to go by Lake Superior to detach the Sioux from the Fox alliance.

The affair ended in a fiasco. Measles among the southern tribes prevented their assembling, the garrison for Mackinac was retained en route, and the only punishment the Foxes met was an attack late in November upon a hunting party.[88]

[84] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 301.

[85] *Ibid.*, pp. 295–297; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, p. 571.

[86] *Canadian Archives*, 1904, p. 40.

[87] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 321.

[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 341, 342; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, p. 577. Pachot, a step-son of Sieur de la Forest, and Bisaillon, a noted coureur

The following year a better planned and better equipped expedition proceeded into the Fox country, led this time by La Porte de Louvigny. Since Frontenac's time this was the first French army that had entered Indian territory, and the first warlike expedition that had ever penetrated to the far West. Taking the route via the lower lakes, in order to overawe the Iroquois, with two hundred and twenty-five Frenchmen, induced to join the expedition by promise of free trade in the Upper Country, considerable reinforcements were received at Detroit and Mackinac, and the little army, now numbering eight hundred, toiled up the rapids of Fox River, eager for anticipated victory. Contrary to all rules of Indian warfare, the Outagami stood their ground, working fiercely to strengthen their defenses, and preparing to "sell their lives as dearly as possible." Their fort was surrounded by a palisade made of triple stakes, inside of which was a ditch or moat from which the defenders fired upon the invaders. Louvigny's two small cannon and a grenade-mortar made but little impression upon this stout barricade.[89] Not daring to push his men too near the cross fire of the desperate savages, Louvigny opened trenches during three nights of the siege, and had approached within a few yards of the fort when a parley was requested; a messenger with a white flag came forth, making overtures of surrender.[90] This offer was indignantly spurned, and all the allies believed that the Fox nation was "on the brink of utter destruction."[91] A re-inforcement of three hundred was, how-

des bois, were the only Frenchmen among this party, largely recruited in the Illinois, where d'Adoncourt and Maunoir were both detained by illness. These two young officers met an untimely fate the following year, falling victims to a marauding band of Southern Indians; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 875, and *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, p. 587.

[89] See description of a similar fortification at Mackinac in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 352.

[90] We have but few details of this siege, but see a similar incident in the Detroit attack, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, p. 276.

[91] Charlevoix, *History*, v, p. 306.

ever, on its way, and the Outagami had resolved to make a great sortie on the following night,[92] when Louvigny unexpectedly agreed to a second parley, and consented to terms for peace. The conditions submitted were not severe, and the astonished Indian allies, balked of their prey, sullenly withdrew. Six hostages were brought away to assure the fulfillment of the terms of peace, and Louvigny, returning in triumph, announced the subjugation of the Renards.

Reading between the lines, one recognizes that this was a vast trading expedition, disguised under a show of war in order to deceive the court in France. Louvigny's contemporaries were not deceived; Perrot derided the results secured,[93] and Charlevoix exposed the pretended peace. Even the Foxes seem to have had a hint of the commandant's purpose, else why did they not flee to their forests on his approach?

The expedition left Montreal loaded with merchandise, among which were forty casks of brandy.[94] The governor reported that the display of force was made "without any cost to the king,"[95] and the terms of peace included the provision that the Foxes were to pay its cost by the proceeds of their hunting. The Foxes knew that they were being bought off with the proceeds of their beaver skins, and had no intention of fulfilling the terms of peace. Of their hostages who were carried to Montreal, two, including Pemoussa, the hero of Detroit, died of small-pox in Canada; a third, Okimaouasen, was employed in later negotiations and ultimately returned to his tribe.[96]

One result, interesting for Wisconsin history, arose from Louvigny's sham war-exploit—the establishment of the first permanent French post at Green Bay, under the command of

92 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 419.

93 Tailhan, *Perrot's Memoire*, pp. 153–157.

94 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 340.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 342.

96 *Ibid.*, pp. 377–379; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiii, pp. 588–590.

Etienne Rocbert, Sieur de la Morandière.[97] This officer vainly attempted to detach the Winnebago (Puants) and Sauk from the Fox alliance; the Menominee were the only Bay tribes upon whose allegiance he could count.

Warned by experience, the Foxes, never abandoning their design of vengeance upon the faithless French, nevertheless learned to temporize, and by astute diplomacy lulled the officers into a belief that they were subdued. Vaudreuil, in 1719, reported their docility to the authorities in France, and seems assured that they, as well as the Kickapoo and Mascoutin, are "disposed to maintain peace with all the Nations,"[98] little dreaming that at that very time they were intriguing with a brave Acadian tribe to come and settle among them and fill their depleted ranks.[99]

It would be interesting if one could identify the "forest-born Demosthenes" among the Foxes, who by his eloquence was building up a series of alliances that threatened the very integrity of New France. Some nameless precursor of Pontiac and Tecumseh dwelt among the Wisconsin tribesmen, and by his diplomatic skill arrayed barbarism against civilization, savage valor against colonizing ardor, the passion for revenge against the white man's greed. Wherever throughout the breadth of the continent a tribe felt dissatisfaction with traders', missionaries,' or governors' methods, there an envoy of the Foxes stood, insinuating reasons for opposing the hated white man. Wherever in the fastnesses of the West a tribe lived untouched by French influence, undebauched by French brandy, these the Foxes sought to gather to their alliance, and form one vast confederation of proud, uncontaminated savagery. The French commandants saw in these intrigues the menace of the English, and the machinations of the Iroquois. The latter would no doubt have been glad to have drawn the Foxes, like the Tuscarora, to re-inforce their number; but it

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 590.

[98] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 380.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 432; xvii, p. 192.

was in their Western allies that the Outagami chiefly trusted.

The great Dakota stock still wandered over the vast prairies between the Mississippi and Missouri, in all the vigor of their pristine barbarism. Their one outlying branch in Wisconsin, the Winnebago, were firm allies of the rebel Foxes. The Sioux, with whom they long had waged fierce war, were now conciliated,[1] and an alliance formed so close that it offered an asylum for retreat, if by mischance the Renards should be driven from their Wisconsin homes. Against this alliance, the French made many ventures. The post at Chequamegon was founded in 1718,[2] not only to conciliate the neighboring Saulteur, but to gain an entry among the Sioux. Thence Pachot and Linctot were sent in 1719, but failed of success, "because the Renards had already warned the Sioux against the French, by making them believe that they wished to betray them, and it was impossible to dissuade them from this idea."[3]

South of the Sioux lay the Iowa (Aiouez), a brave race apparently first discovered by Perrot, who for many years offered an asylum to the harassed Foxes, and aided them against the Illinois. Still farther to the west and southwest lay the Oto, relatives and friends of the Iowa. In 1724 Etienne Veniyard, Sieur de Bourgmont, on his trans-Missouri expedition from Fort Orleans, discovered that the Renards were tampering with the Oto, and would also have won over the Mahas (Omaha) and Panimaha, had not this Louisiana officer prevented.[4]

Charlevoix[5] intimates that the Renards sought alliance among the Chickasaw, which is not improbable after their proclaimed enmity against Louisiana. We have thus the

[1] *Id.*, xvi, p. 306.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 380.

[3] Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1884), vi, p. 509.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

[5] Charlevoix, *History*, v, p. 309.

sweep of this confederacy—from Lake Ontario in the east to the Missouri in the west, from the borders of Lake Winnipeg in the north, where the Sioux often roamed, to the bluffs of Memphis in the south, where the Chickasaw made their home. Built up tribe by tribe, by means of unnumbered embassies, floods of savage eloquence, wampum belts, and calumet tokens without number, had it succeeded New France would have been rent in twain, Louisiana severed from Canada, the hard-won forest empire of Louis XIV and XV re-conquered for savagery, and the Indian have dwelt alone in his fatherland.

Meanwhile a desultory, intermittent warfare harassed the Western posts without destroying them. The Illinois, the Foxes' hereditary enemies, had become devoted henchmen of their French masters. Taking advantage of the jealous rivalry between Louisiana and Canada, the Foxes and their allies struck the Illinois with impunity, chasing them to the very gates of the French fort.[6] At first they desisted from attacking the French, and even came in apparent penitence to La Morandière at Green Bay, to atone for the death of a Frenchman stabbed among the Kickapoo.[7] But after murdering some Miami ambassadors who were visiting the Sauk, and attacking the Potawatomi and Saulteur as well as the Illinois, Vaudreuil was convinced of their bad intentions, and declared in 1721 that he abandoned the Foxes to the hostile tribes, and offered supplies for warring against them.[8]

In fact there were two parties among the Outagami themselves—a French party, led by the chief Ouachala, and a war-party under the chieftainship of Kiala. These factions were sufficient to divide the tribe into two villages.[9] The former claimed that they had never killed a Frenchman; they sought the commandant at the Bay for advice, and as late as 1720

[6] See list of these atrocities, as recited by the Illinois, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 459–463.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 396, 397.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 398.

[9] *Id.*, xvii, p. 28.

Ouachala went down to Montreal. But with the rising war-spirit, the influence of the French party waned, and when in 1722 the Illinois captured and burned a nephew of Ouachala, the fury of revenge seized the whole nation.

Forming a large war-party of Mascoutin, Kickapoo, Winnebago, Sauk, Sioux, and Abenaki allies, they advanced into the Illinois country, where the escarped rock known as Le Rocher dominated the valley of Illinois River. There the preceding year Father Charlevoix had found a peaceful village whose chief was "handsome, gentle, of an amiable physiognomy, and of whom the French report much that is good."

The gentle priest had been, however, horrified by the spectacle of two corpses abandoned to birds of prey, the remains of prisoners burned but a few days before. Perchance one of these was the nephew of the Fox chief for whose death revenge was then preparing.[10] A furious, unexpected onslaught drove the villagers to the summit of the rock, where after a somewhat protracted siege, their lives were finally spared by the besiegers.[11] The ultimate result was the abandonment of the locality by the Illinois, and the domination by the Renards of the second great waterway (the Chicago-Illinois river) between Canada and Louisiana.

Open warfare was once more alight in the Upper Country, but the allies were slow to attack the dreaded Foxes. Even after Vaudreuil's dramatic announcement that he abandoned them to their fate, the neighboring tribesmen refused to take the warpath. The Detroit savages declined to be again duped as they had been in 1716.[12] Only the Chippewa

[10] Charlevoix, *Journal Historique*, iii, pp. 381, 382.

[11] Our only authorities for this are the Foxes' speech to Montigny at La Baye, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 418–422, and the account in Charlevoix's *History*, vi, pp. 71, 72. These do not agree in details. The former represents the attack as a Fox victory, and desires praise for sparing the lives of the Illinois. The latter represents it as a Fox defeat, but admits that the Illinois abandoned the locality permanently and withdrew to the Mississippi villages.

[12] Charlevoix, *Journal Historique*, iii, p. 258.

and Ottawa of Saginaw responded to the appeal. If the savages were lukewarm in pressing the war, the officers at the forts were no less disinclined. In 1724 the French minister writes sharply to the governor that he has learned that the commandants at Detroit, Mackinac, and other places prevent raids upon the Foxes. This can only be to serve their own interests he declares, to the detriment of the government of Louisiana which suffers great losses through the Foxes.[13] The commandant of the Illinois forts that the colony is almost ruined through their attacks: "We are killed everywhere by the Renards, to whom Canada supplies weapons and powder * * * The Beaver in their district cause this Great carnage among us."[14]

So long, therefore, as the Foxes confined their attacks to the rival colony of Illinois, the commandants at the Canadian posts showed little interest therein. A royal order proscribed the selling of powder or weapons to the Foxes,[15] and the complaints from Louisiana having finally reached the royal ear, the governor of Canada was commanded to stop their depredations against the Illinois. Acting under these orders, Lignery proceeded to Green Bay in the summer of 1724, and having summoned the chiefs of the Renards, Sauk, and Winnebago to meet him, adjusted a peace between them and the Saulteur and Ottawa, without including the Illinois.[16] For this measure he received a sharp rebuke from the royal court. "It looks as if he tried to ruin the fur-trade from Louisiana."[17]

Again in 1726, Lignery, acting under the spur of the authorities in France, visited Green Bay, and summoned the chiefs of all the tribes before him. Reluctantly they came,

[13] *Canadian Archives*, 1904, p. 53.

[14] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 451, 452.

[15] *Canadian Archives*, 1904, p. 52.

[16] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 444–451.

[17] *Canadian Archives*, 1904, p. 62. The Illinois commandant shrewdly suspects the governor of Canada in this complicity against his colony; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 456.

and promised speciously to make peace with the Illinois, to send their chiefs to Montreal, and to accept a missionary and French commandant within their village.[18] Father Chardon, however, who aided in the negotiation, reported that as long as the Foxes had an assured refuge among the Sioux, so long they would be insolent and unruly.[19]

The new governor, Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois, who arrived in the colony in August, 1726, came out determined to act vigorously, and to break up the official connivance at the Renards' misdoings. According to directions received from France, he at once arranged for a post among the Sioux, and taking advantage of the brief tranquility secured by Lignery's peace, sent a considerable convoy through the Fox–Wisconsin waterway to build a fort on Lake Pepin. Father Guignas is the chronicler of this expedition, and describes the "cabins of the Renards, a nation so dreaded, and really very little to be dreaded. * * * They have only simple cabins of bark without any sort of palisade or other fortification. When the French canoes touched their shores, they ran down with their peace calumets lighted in spite of the rain, and everybody smoked."[20] Before the end of October, Fort Beauharnois was finished on Lake Pepin, and there the new governor's fête-day was celebrated with fireworks, which so alarmed the Sioux that "the women and children took to flight, and the most courageous of the men cried for mercy, and urgently asked that the astonishing play of this terrible medicine should be made to cease."[21]

The Sioux fort once built, the new governor-general threw off the mask of conciliation, and announced his intention of "striking a Signal blow, that may lower the pride of the savages and overthrow the projects of our Enemies."[22] Desli-

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 464–468. For the speeches on this occasion, see *Id.*, iii, pp. 150–156.

[19] *Id.*, xvii, p. 7.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[22] *Id.*, xvi, p. 477.

ettes, at Fort Charters, said that the surest method to be rid of trouble would be to destroy the Foxes. Lignery had objected that this would be dangerous if unsuccessful. Nevertheless the new governor, impetuously eager to distinguish the beginning of his term of service by an auspicious feat of arms, prepared the ill-fated expedition.[23] Lignery, as the most competent officer in the Indian country, was chosen to command. There seems to be a slight suspicion that Lignery acted with bad faith; certainly, after his failure he was severely blamed for unnecessary delays, unwarranted trust in a savage envoy, and other like blunders. He himself attributes his failure to lack of co-operation on the part of the Illinois commandant.[24]

We possess three original narratives of this expedition, that of the commandant, of the chaplain, and of the governor-general.[25] The second of these is most circumstantial and full of picturesque details. The good Recollect father, Emanuel Crespel, not long in the New World, was filled with horror at the cruel torments that befell the captured prisoners, and remonstrated in no measured terms with the Christian Indians of the Canadian missions, who composed a large portion of the Indian contingent. The Winnebago had fled from their village at the head of the lower Fox, the three Renard villages beyond were empty, a hundred canoes having removd the women and children, while the armed men had marched overland. Lignery despairing of pursuit, burnt the villages and corn-fields, and upon his retreat destroyed the post at Green Bay as no longer safe for a French garrison. He took precaution also to warn the Sioux post, where after a hasty consultation, the commander, chaplain, and ten others took canoes hoping to reach the Illinois. Arrested by a wandering party of Mascoutin and Kickapoo, they were kept

[23] See the annoyance of the ministry in France at this unauthorized expedition. *Id.*, xvii, pp. 21, 22.

[24] *Id.*, v, p. 94; xvii, p. 34.

[25] *Id.*, pp. 87–95; x, pp. 47–53; xvii, pp. 31–35.

for days in suspense regarding their fate. Twice an angry party of Renards attempted to wrest them from their captors, but by much address they won over the tribesmen, who finally agreed to make peace with the Illinois, and break the Fox alliance. With this fortunate bit of diplomacy, Beauharnois consoled himself for the failure of the great expedition.[26]

In truth the results of the expedition were greater than could have been predicted from its apparent failure. The solicitations of the French had aroused all their neighbors against the fugitive Foxes. In the summer of 1729, Beauharnois exhorted the faithful tribesmen who visited him at Montreal "to destroy the Foxes, and not to suffer on this earth a demon capable of confounding or opposing our friendly alliance."[27] Accordingly, that autumn a large party of Ottawa, Chippewa, and Winnebago fell upon a Fox hunting party and made great havoc among them.[28] It was significant that a portion of the Winnebago had abandoned the Fox alliance. With the loss of these allies, and the Kickapoo and Mascoutin, and the temporary abandonment of the Sioux and Iowa, the fate of the rebels seemed sealed. They even ventured as far as St. Joseph to beg for peace, and their spirit seemed to the French authorities to be utterly cowed.[29]

Meanwhile a new officer had been sent to the Fox country, one who was to be instrumental in finally ending these wars. This was Pierre Paul la Perrière, Sieur Marin, who repaired to the Menominee village, and received deputations from the repentant Winnebago, who assured him that they were submissive and obedient children of Onontio, and that nothing could change their hearts.[30] A severe test of their fidelity to the French occurred early in the spring of 1730. Having ventured back to their village on Doty Island, they

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 36–62.

[27] *Id.*, v, p. 105.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 104; xvii, p. 81.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 67, 70.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

were suddenly attacked by a large force of Foxes, who were especially enraged at their desertion. Marin went to their assistance with a force of Folle Avoines and a few Frenchmen. After a siege that lasted a month and a half, the Foxes finally abandoned their position in discouragement.[31]

It seems to have been at this time that the Foxes were secretly offered an asylum among the Iroquois, and assured of a passage through the lands of the Ouiatanon. Dubuisson at Mackinac was in the midst of preparations for a war-party for their extermination,[32] when news suddenly reached the southern posts of a great migration, and arrangements were immediately set on foot to hinder it. A band of Mascoutin, Kickapoo, and Illinois, who had so lately became reconciled through the efforts of De Boucherville, descried the Renards on the march, and at once notified the commandants at Fort Chartres, St. Joseph, and Miami. A messenger was likewise despatched to Detroit, but too late to secure assistance therefrom. Parties of savages with supporting French were at once made up to the amount of nearly fourteen hundred men. Coulon de Villiers from St. Joseph, as the senior officer, took command; Nicolas Joseph de Noyelles brought the reinforcement from Miami; Jean de St. Ange led the Illinois contingent. The Foxes seeing themselves pursued, stood at bay, hastily constructed a fort in the prairie, sixty leagues south of the end of Lake Michigan,[33] and defended themselves during a prolonged siege of twenty-three days. The besiegers attempted to shut off the water supply, but the Foxes dug underground passages to the small prairie stream near by, and held their own. Several of the besieging tribesmen secretly sympathized with the victims, the Sauk supplied them with provisions, and all the allies besought De Villiers to grant the Renards their lives. This request he indignantly spurned and the besieged continued the fight

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 88–100.

[32] *Id.*, v, pp. 106, 107.

[33] *Id.*, xvii, p. 129.

with their characteristic courage, making desperate though unsuccessful sorties. Finally hunger began to pinch both armies. The Foxes had eaten their skin coverings; no hope was left but an escape. On the night of September 9, favored by a terrible storm of wind and rain, they stole from the sheltering fort, and hastened away over the prairies. The crying of the little children betrayed them; the pursuers gained upon them, cumbered with their women and children, and great carnage ensued. Three hundred warriors were killed or captured,[34] six hundred women and children absolutely destroyed. The fifty or sixty who escaped threw away all guns and ammunition, and were hotly pursued by the victorious allies.[35] Coulon de Villiers sent his son to Quebec as a special envoy to carry the news, and present to the governor a wretched Renard prisoner. "Tranquility for so many years disturbed in the upper country, will now reign," writes the governor in exultation.[36]

Tracked and harassed on every side, the wretched fugitives took the last desperate step, sent two of their new chiefs to Montreal to make submission. The governor promised them their lives if they would keep the peace and send him hostages the following year. He admits however, that this was but a subterfuge, and that he only waited the opportunity of cutting off the last remnant of these wretched rebels. No wonder the Foxes were always suspicious, and feared treachery, their entire experience with the French authorities had been a training therein.

During the succeeding year another act of treachery confirmed their suspicions. A band of Huron and Iroquois mission Indians left Canada in the winter of 1731–32 to go and "eat up" the remaining Renards. The governor, although not giving final consent, opposed no obstacle to this

[34] Some reports say two hundred.

[35] For the several contemporary accounts see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 107, 108; xvii, pp. 100–102, 109–118, 129, 130.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

expedition, and when overtaken by this force on snowshoes, in the depth of the Wisconsin forest, the Renards exclaimed, "It is our Father Onontio, who has caused us to be killed." Three hundred fell victims to this unexpected assault, and but thirty true Renards were said to have escaped.[37]

Both the Sioux post and that of Green Bay having been re-established during the year 1731,[38] the few poor refugees from the once haughty Renard tribe came begging for peace and their lives. They had no allies left. The Sioux had spurned them, the Mascoutin and Kickapoo had gone over to the enemy, the Sauk had all returned to the Bay and placed their village under the protection of the French fort. Thither came the proud Kiala, the inveterate enemy of the French, and offered his life for the lives of his tribe. De Villiers, who in reward for his brilliant victory in 1730 had been promoted to command at the Bay, took him to Montreal, where the governor, still fearing his powers, had him transported to Martinique.[39] There, under the blazing tropical skies, chained in a slave gang, the great chief did not long survive. His wife who had followed him to Canada, escaped from her gaolers, and let us hope found her way back once more to her loved Wisconsin land.[40]

The conditions the governor granted the defeated Foxes were hard. The entire remnant of the tribe was to be transported to slavery at Montreal, and if resistance was made, all were to be killed. Complete extermination was decreed. While these negotiations were taking place, the Foxes with a flash of their old spirit, fortified themselves on Lake Marameg, and routed a Huron party coming from Detroit to work their destruction.[41] The war with the Foxes seemed ended. The allies were ordered to turn their arms against

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 148–154.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 167–169.

[39] *Canadian Archives*, 1905, vol. 1, pp. xli, lxix.

[40] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 210.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 173; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiv, p. 104.

the Chickasaw, who were harassing the colony of Louisiana. De Villiers set forth in full security for the Upper Country, to annihilate the last remnant of the Fox tribe, and crown his victory with the entire destruction of these savages who had so long disturbed the peace.

But the French had presumed too far on the complaisance of the savages. Hated as the Foxes were, the other tribes saw in their destruction a presage of doom. Especially their kinsmen the Sauk, although until now among the French allies, hesitated to deliver them to slavery and death. De Villiers, with overweening confidence in his authority, proceeded to Green Bay and demanded of the Sauk, the Renards secreted in their village. Upon their delay to deliver them up, he sent word he would come for them himself. Surrounded by his family, with an insufficient guard, he presented himself at the door of the Sauk fort, and attempting to force a passage was fired upon, his young son killed at his side, and he himself fell victim to the sure aim of a Sauk boy of twelve.[42] A battle ensued at the gates of the fort, and the elder son of De Villiers, who afterwards met Major George Washington upon the Ohio in 1754, pursued the murderers as they fled and battled all day near the Butte des Morts. The French lost heavily in this action, and report the number of wounded enemies considerable, but unknown. This affair had several important consequences; it marks the abandonment of Green Bay by the Sauk and Foxes; from this time also dates the union of these two tribes, so close that it became a practical amalgamation; and the Fox wars were reopened. The Western allies once more espoused their cause, and in the land of the Iowa the courageous enemy built a new fort, and awaited results.[43]

[42] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 188, 189, 200–204. The local tradition is to be found in *Id.*, iii, p. 200, and viii, pp. 207, 208. As related by Augustin Grignon the French fired first and killed an Indian, thereupon the fire was returned and Black bird shot the commandant.

[43] In eastern Iowa, on the Wapsipinicon River.

This took the form of a land expedition that was entrusted to the care of De Noyelles, who had been second in command at the defeat of the Foxes in 1730. Eighty-four French volunteers were enlisted with two hundred mission Indians, and re-inforcements were collected en route from the southern posts. Leaving Canada in August, 1734, the expedition was seven months on the march, and only reached the neighborhood of the enemy the following spring. Led astray by false guides of the Kickapoo tribe, they finally arrived at Wapsipinicon River only to discover the enemy fled to the Des Moines, where a slight skirmish took place April 19, 1735, with little result but to discourage the attacking party and cause their retreat. The commandant De Noyelles was discredited at court, for his failure, which the governor-general did his best to mininize.[44] De Noyelles consoled himself with the Sauk's promise to separate from the Foxes and return to the Bay, but this proved but a specious pledge, calculated to deceive none but the credulous commander.

Father le Boullenger, Jesuit missionary in the Illinois, wrote in 1736, "The court was deceived when it was informed the Renards were destroyed."[45] After the affair at Green Bay, and the killing of De Villiers, the other tribes, far from persecuting the Foxes, sent back all their prisoners that they held, furnished them with arms and ammunition, and secretly encouraged their revolt. As Beauharnois expressed it to the minister, "You may imagine, Monseigneur, that the Savages have their policy as we have Ours, and they are not greatly pleased at seeing a nation destroyed, for Fear that their turn may come. They manifest Much ardor toward the French and act quite differently. * * * The Savages as a rule greatly fear the French, but they do not love them. All that they manifest towards them is Never Sincere."[46]

Too weak to attempt concerted action, the remnant of the

[44] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 208–210, 215–233.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 255, note.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

Renards determined to divide into small bands and strike blindly in their despair. The Sauk, meanwhile, interceded for them and themselves, but could obtain for the Foxes a promise of pardon only on condition that they should disperse among the other tribes, and that no mention should be made of the name of Renards, who had so disturbed the earth.[47] This was too hard a condition to be accepted. The Sioux once more made overtures to the discouraged Foxes, and became so turbulent that Sieur de St. Pierre was obliged to abandon the post in their country early in 1737, and all the faithful French Indians united in pleading for their ancient enemies at the Montreal council of the same year.[48]

As the governor was unable to refuse this petition, he grandiloquently made a virtue of his necessity, and granted a general pardon, which he considered a stroke of policy, tending to peace in the Upper Country. But this proved but a barren peace. Only the Menominee yet remained at the Bay; neither Winnebago, Fox, nor Sauk could be induced to return to their ancient seats, which were stained with their own and French blood, and no longer in the eyes of the superstitious savages would produce crops.[49]

Therefore the allied tribes gathered at Rock River, and took up their abode near the lead mines, that were afterwards to prove to them a source of wealth. The governor-general, wishing to watch their movements, to detach them from the Sioux, and restrain them from injuring the Illinois, sent Sieur Marin to their territory with orders to build a fort, and watch the suspected tribes. In 1738, this officer proceeded to the Western country,[50] and by adroit skill and address for five years kept the turbulent tribesmen in some

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 258; *Canadian Archives*, 1904, p. 239.

[48] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 264, 267–276.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[50] Marin's post was on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, a few miles below Prairie du Chien; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 289. The post on Lake Pepin therein noted, was built in 1750.

sort of subjection. Marin was an arrant trader, and his operations were viewed with much distrust by the court of Versailles, and the governor was frequently admonished to recall him.[51] Warned, however, by past experience, Beauharnois assured the minister that this officer was the only one who could keep peace in the Upper Country, and left him at his post. He persuaded a Fox chief to visit Montreal in 1738, to thank the governor for his clemency on behalf of his tribe. This was the first Renard to seek the French, since the ill-fated Kiala had met his doom. Beauharnois received him graciously, and the minds of the suspicious savages were for the moment re-assured. The gathering for the Chickasaw expedition the next year struck terror to their hearts. Seeking Marin at his fort they exclaimed: "We had resolved to do what Our Father Onontio demanded of Us, to go and rekindle our fire on our Former land at La Baye, but to-day we see clearly that we are dead. We await the thunder which hangs over our heads ready too crush us."[52] Having reassured them on this score, Marin renewed his application to the tribes to return to the Bay. The Winnebago finally consented, and by 1741 a large portion of them occupied their old village site.[53]

The Sauk and Foxes still remained distrustful; secretly encouraged by vagabond traders at Chicago and Milwaukee, they remained in their new villages, near Rock River, and in 1741 killed several Frenchmen in the Illinois, and drew out the threat of another punitive expedition.[54]

The following year, however, they yielded to Marin's solicitations, and sent a number of their chiefs to Montreal, where the governor made conciliatory speeches, gave them back four prisoners of their tribe, and received them among the number of his faithful allies.[55] The Fox wars were

[51] *Canadian Archives*, 1904, pp. 289, 304.

[52] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 320.

[53] *Ibid.*, 367, 400.

[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 339.

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 404, 416.

practically at an end. Marin, relieved at his own request, was succeeded by Paul Louis Dazenard, Sieur de Lusignan, who reaping the fruit of Marin's policy, succeeded in collecting the scattered Foxes and Sauk in one village tributary to the Bay.[56]

But the harvest of rebellion was yet to be reaped. The French having by their treatment of this one tribe sown the wind in the Upper Country, were yet to reap the whirlwind. King George's War, begun in the Old World after a long season of peace, reawakened animosity between the French and English colonies in the New. With the pressure of war, and the growing peculation among the highest officers of the province, goods became exorbitant in price, and the most docile of the allied Indians rebelled against the extortion. In 1747 the great and honest Governor Beauharnois was recalled, and the way was opened for that gigantic system of plunder and graft that brought New France to its swift end. The same year a rebellion flamed up in the Upper Country. The two central posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac were both destined for surprise and plunder by their domiciled Indians. The Miami already disaffected, and long intriguing with English traders, boldly entered the conspiracy. Even the Illinois, sunk in sloth and subjection, were aroused against their masters. The Mississagua and Saulteur caught the contagion, and murdered French traders at Sault Ste. Marie and the Huron Islands. The Sioux, Foxes, and Sauk "struck wherever an opportunity presented.[57] The Iowa killed some Frenchmen.[58] Only the Potawatomi at St. Josephs, under the immediate control of their commandant Marin, remained faithful.

Prompt and vigorous methods at all the posts, to which the

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 437. There is no certain indication of the location of this village. I am inclined to think it that of Sauk Prairie on the Wisconsin, but it may have been nearer the old site at Green Bay.

[57] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 87.

[58] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii (still in MS.).

ablest officers were sent, resulted in re-establishing French ascendency for the remaining years of the colony's existence. St. Pierre at Mackinac arrested some of the murderers, and sent them to Montreal. But while going down in a boat to Quebec, these manacled and unarmed savages overpowered seven soldiers, drowned them in the river, and made their escape. Nevertheless the work of pacification proceeded. In 1750 the Foxes, Sauk, Winnebago, Menominee, Saulteur, and Sioux met the new governor, Marquis de la Jonquière, at Quebec, and "assured me of their fidelity and complete submission."[59] The same year the commandant at La Baye, Sieur Milon, was drowned while hunting on the waters of the bay.

An opportunity, therefore, presented itself to the new governor and his confederates to share the spoils of this profitable post in Wisconsin. La Jonquière, Bigot, Brèard, St. Pierre, and Marin formed a partnership to exploit this country. Marin, whose skill in managing the tribesmen was well known, was to be the resident partner. Part of the plan was to re-establish the Sioux post, and draw furs from their rich province. In 1750 Marin returned to the site of his former exploits, and after tranquilizing the tribes at Green Bay, advanced to the Mississippi and built his fort on Lake Pepin.[60] The profits were reported at 150,000 livres a year. Although Marin found the tribes at La Baye very uneasy, and although a war broke out between Sioux, Renards, and Sauk, and the Illinois, yet on the whole the trade remained satisfactory and in the words of Bougainville, the exploiting firm found that "peace was more profitable than war."[61]

To this period has been assigned the vengeance of Marin upon the Fox village, so noted in traditional lore, according to which companies of soldiers in canoes, loaded apparently

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Ibid.*, also Margry, *Decouv. et Établ.*, vi, p. 636; *Memoires inédites* (Paris, 1867), p. 59.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

with simple merchandise, were concealed beneath tarpaulin and advanced up the Fox River. Upon the demand of the Renards for their tribute, the disguise was thrown off, the deceived Foxes shot down without mercy, and their village destroyed by fire. Thus runs the story, related with many variations in recollections and legendary memories.[62] Whether even with the countenance of the governor, Marin would have dared thus to embroil the Upper Country, and break the peace he had so carefully fostered, is a question for discussion. Suffice it to say that contemporary documents, so far as known, are completely silent in reference to any such act of treachery; and it is incompatible with his commercial principle that "La Paix vaut mieux que la guerre" (peace is more profitable than war).

In 1753 Marin was withdrawn to build a chain of new forts being erected upon the Ohio. The profits of this most profitable post of La Baye were granted, at first for a term of years, finally in 1759 for life, to Armand de Rigaud, brother of the new governor,[63] Marquis de Vaudreuil. The younger Marin retained command of the Sioux post, where he made peace for the Illinois, with the allied Sioux, Winnebago, Fox, and Sauk.[64]

After the outbreak of the French and Indian War, we catch but few glimpses of affairs in the Upper Country. In 1755 it was reported that this region was greatly neglected and the tribes at war with one another. The same year Ottawa, Fox, Sauk, and Menominee chiefs visited Vaudreuil at Montreal.[65] Large contingents of Wisconsin Indians participated in the chief battles. Probably there were Renards and Sauk in the army of Langlade that in 1752 attacked the Miami chief at Pickawillany, and destroyed that nest of British renegades on the Great Miami. The same

62 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 206–209; v, 95–103.

63 *Id.*, xviii.

64 *Ibid.*

65 *Ibid.*

tribesmen no doubt accompanied this officer to the Monongahela and took part in the defeat of Braddock, and the ravage of the surrounding country. Certain it is that under the command of Marin junior and their interpreter Pierre Reaume[66] they were at the siege of Fort William Henry in 1757. During the death struggle of New France, in the battles around Quebec in 1759, Sauk and Foxes again made part of Langlade's army, and joined in the attack on Wolfe's advance at Montmorency Falls, July 9, 1759.[67]

But if in her declining years the Foxes were loyal to the colony of New France, the blow they had inflicted on her prosperity and prestige in the Upper Country by the long series of intermittent wars extending over nearly sixty years of her history, had aided in bringing about her downfall. The French colonial system had proven itself inadequate, its boasted control of the Indian had been defeated by one tribe, the persistent defiance of the Renards had wrought confusion and dismay. In the words of Father Charlevoix, "The Iroquois had raised up against us a new enemy as brave as themselves, less politic, much fiercer, whom we have never been able to subdue or tame, and who like those insects that seem to have as many lives as parts of their body, sprang to life again, so to say, after their defeat, and reduced almost to a handful of brigands, appear everywhere, have aroused the hatred of all the nations on this continent, and for the last twenty-five years and more interrupt commerce and render the roads impracticable for five hundred leagues around. These are the Ontagamie commonly called Foxes."[68]

Upon the surrender of the Upper Country to the English, the fort at La Baye was occupied on October 12, 1761, by Lieut. James Gorrell with a garrison of seventeen soldiers of the 60th infantry. Traders had preceded the soldiers into Wisconsin territory, and found the Sauk and Foxes inclined

[66] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, 608, 630.

[67] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 140.

[68] Charlevoix, *History*, v, p. 256.

to the English interest.[69] During Pontiac's conspiracy it was the Sauk, Foxes, and Menominee who protected the British garrison at Green Bay, and rescued from the hands of the hostile Ottawa the prisoners taken at Mackinac.[70] There can be no doubt that French influence was less potent in Wisconsin than elsewhere in the Upper Country, and that by this means the garrison at Fort Edward Augustus was saved from ruthless massacre.

The history of the Fox Indians during the hundred years of the French regime, as outlined in the previous survey, may be summarized as follows:

1. The entry of the Foxes into Wisconsin and their life upon the Wolf River, covering approximately the years 1665–80. This is the period of their first contact with the French, and of the Jesuit mission of Saint Marc.

2. The period of partial French control, and of Fox River brigandage, approximately 1680–1710. During this period the great village of the tribe was located near Lake Petit Butte des Morts, and the influence of La Salle, Perrot, and Duluth was sufficient to keep the Foxes in a measure of subjection. They aspired to control the Fox–Wisconsin waterway and the trade with the Sioux.

3. Period of open warfare, 1712–33—from the siege of Detroit to the final expulsion of the Foxes from the Fox River valley. During this period the Foxes built up their great confederacy, but were overpowered by the combined attacks of the French allies and French officers.

4. Sauk and Fox union and gradual submission, 1733–60. During this period the allied tribes found their homes on the Wisconsin River, and beyond the Mississippi. They gradually gave over their fierce opposition, were treated with leniency by the French authorities, regained the friendship of the surrounding tribes, and became submissive to French

[69] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 26; viii, p. 234, 235.

[70] *Id.*, i, pp. 40–47.

authority; never, however, becoming entirely docile or yielding their hard-won autonomy.

The Fox wars, which were closed by leniency and diplomacy on the part of French officials, were induced and prolonged by serious mistakes of administration. Their causes are to be sought not only in the character of the tribe itself—hardy, suspicious, jealous of its rights and of great personal powers—but in faulty methods of the French colonial system. The policy of removing and congregating tribes around a French post induced friction that produced war. La Salle's colonial system in Illinois brought the Renards to their strategic position on Fox River, where they quickly learned the advantages of their position. La Mothe Cadillac's concentration about Detroit brought into play animosities that resulted in the outbreak of 1712. The jealousies of rival posts, and particularly that between the officers of Canada and Louisiana, gave opportunity to the wily savage to play off one party against the other. The French in the Illinois complained that the Canadian traders gave the savages to understand that they were a different sort of white men, and not entitled to the Indians' regard.

But chiefly it was the fur-trade, with all its ramifications of self-interest, that provoked and prolonged the wars. While for the interest of the colony at large, peace among the Indians of the Upper Country best promoted economic prosperity, nevertheless adventurous and illegal traders found large personal profits in a state of war. Never did the Foxes lack for weapons or ammunition, obtained at exorbitant prices from illicit traders. French officers viewed with some complacency attacks upon the hunters of another post, which increased the prices and profits of their own. Even a punitive expedition could be turned to profit, if both government and savages were skillfully exploited. That the Fox wars dragged their slow length over so many decades of the history of New France was largely due to the opposition of private interests in the fur-trade, rather than to considerations of the public welfare.

Fox Indian Wars

The history of the Fox Indians during the French regime is told in the annals of their enemies and conquerors. Only occasional glimpses are preserved to us from the translation of their speeches, to indicate their own point of view, to portray their wrongs, to glorify their heroes. The annalist with some knowledge of Indian psychology must read between the lines, and interpret events in the light of their barbaric, hence limited, comprehension. Viewed from this standpoint the Fox wars become a national rebellion, the revolt of a brave and independent race from the exactions of French traders, and the debasing submission to French officers. Throughout their course, the French authorities claim to have discerned the machinations of the English, and the insidious influence of the Iroquois. Study of the conditions leads to the belief that this influence is largely exaggerated, that instead of their wars being instigated by the Iroquois, it was the Foxes who sought the aid of the latter in the struggle for independence. The Foxes' reliance therein was upon barbaric strength, and not upon a rival civilization. Now and again one catches glimpses of heroic figures among the rebellious tribesmen. Pemoussa, hurtling the defiant cry at Dubuisson for his treachery, "Know that the Renard is immortal!" dying later a hostage at Montreal of the dreaded disease of small-pox; Kiala, "the instigator of all their misdeeds," offering himself a sacrifice for the life of his people, and dying in the tropical heats of the island of Martinique. Shadowy figures these, but worthy to stand in the hall of fame beside the heroic Pontiac or the wily Tecumseh, witnesses of the heroic impulse which stirs the heart of mankind whether in a white or a red man's spirit.

Striking and picturesque as are the various incidents of the Fox wars, it is by their influence upon history that their importance must be judged. They led in the first place to a change in the trade routes in the Upper Country. The Fox-Wisconsin waterway being controlled by this hostile tribe, and the Illinois-Chicago route often rendered unsafe, the routes by Lake Superior were developed, the Grand Portage to the

Northwest discovered, and the far regions of Winnipeg and Saskatchewan opened by daring French explorers. On the other hand, communication by the usual routes between Louisiana and Canada being interrupted, the portages from Erie and Ontario to the Ohio were opened—an effect which brought about the clash of interests that resulted in, or rather precipitated, the French and Indian War.

The Fox wars likewise proved a training school for officers in the later colonial wars. St. Pierre and Coulon de Villiers, whom Washington encountered on the Allegheny, had commanded in Wisconsin for many years. The elder and younger Marin, Céloron de Blainville, Dazenard de Lusignan, Boucher de la Perrière, members of the Le Moyne, Repentigny, and Ramezay families, all useful officers in the final struggle of New France, had learned the trade of war and the command of savage auxiliaries in the contests of the Upper Country. Charles de Langlade, bred at Mackinac, aided in the defeat of Braddock, and fought upon the Plains of Abraham.

Finally, the Fox wars proved to be "the entering wedge of ruin for the French Dominion in America."[71] Whether the great interior valleys were to remain under French, or pass to English control, was the problem of the eighteenth century in America. The obstinate resistance of this one barbarous tribe in the forests of Wisconsin changed French policy in the Western country, weakened French dominion over her savage allies, and set in motion forces that gave the rivers and prairies of the Great West to the English-speaking race.

[71] Hebberd, *French Dominion in Wisconsin*, p. 152.